12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $80 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading